1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

said to have fought among themselves until few were left; then there came hunger, and later plague, so that what few weak ones were left from the ravages of warfare succumbed utterly to the natural forces which beset them. There is said to have been a heathen king named Azzi, whose fortress was perched on the pass of the Noisy Mountain (Taurirt n Dghujidh) who stretched a rope between two sharp crags on either side of the Nekor, saying that whoever would marry his daughter must first pass over this rope from crag to crag. Many tried and fell down hundreds of feet on the rocks to die, until one day a Jew climbed the easier of the mountains with a load of withes, and wove himself a basket around the rope, got in, and drew himself across. Azzi gave his daughter to the Jew. On another occasion Azzi ordered all the people in Tiddest to bring him bowls of kuskus, stating that if any bowl were cold by the time it reached the top of the mountain its bearer would have his head cut off. The people of Tiddest took counsel and finally decided to cover their bowls with vegetable marrow, which retains the heat a long while, and doing this they all brought their kuskus to Azzi piping hot. The king, thrusting his hand into the first bowl to feel it, burnt his hand.

Tradition does not state which came first, the bronze-age Imdiwen or the ordinary ancestral heathen — but at any rate the bronze-age tradition confines the presence of the former to a definite limited area, while the heathen ancestors were found everywhere else in the Rif. Of the ancestral heathen one is told most emphatically that they were autochthonous, despite the fact that some of them are reputed to have adopted Christianity.

Summary. Traditions from this area, then, show several things clearly: that there dwelt originally in the territory a native pagan group which became the ancestors of the Riffians, especially of those now occupying the central tribes; that subsequently two invasions came from the southwest, first the Ghomara and then the Senhaja; that these Ghomara and Senhaja displaced whatever people had originally been in their territories, and subsequently received a slight infusion of Riffian blood; that the Senhaja and Ghomara fought a great war together, in which each of the Riffian tribes allied itself with one side or the other; that the Senhaja won this war; that long afterwards Zenatan peoples from the southeast filtered in, giving rise to a mixed or alien population in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk; and that in these same areas and also reaching farther to the east came an infusion of outsiders, called "westerners," who further reduced the purity of the ancestral stock in the eastern Rif.

The significance of these traditions will be manifest when the facts of history, cultural distribution, and racial distribution are dealt with.

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CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

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We have seen in studying the culture of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara that there are three types of factors involved: those located in the center of the Rif and apparently basic there; those held in common with the other peoples of Morocco and representing the modern North African civilization, and those neither basically Riffian nor a part of the usual North African culture. In all parts of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, the prevailing stages of culture, both material and social, are about equally advanced, with certain notable exceptions, as at Taghzuth, where industries are well developed, and in the regions of the Garet and of Ktama and the Western Arabophone Senhaja, where rigorous extremes of environment have stunted the development of certain kinds of material culture. One cannot divide the region into zones of high or low culture; one may merely distinguish between the kinds of culture in different places.

I have chosen twenty-eight features of material culture and thirty-three of social culture which I believe to be nuclear or central Riffian. By this I mean that they represent the most fundamental pattern in the area, and show less evidence of introduction from outside in any but remotely ancient times than features which may replace them in other tribes, or which may exist on the margins without parallels in the center. The lists of these features follow:

Central Riffian Material Culture

(Twenty-Eight Traits)

1. Roasted grains
2. Bake-oven
3. Absence of skillet
4. *Kadid* and *thamarik* (dried meats and purées)
5. Sausages
6. *Sammet* (grape jelly)
7. Tar
8. Porch
9. Projecting *arof* (loft over the cow-pit)
10. Absence of second story
11. Sloping roof
12. Shingles
13. Possession of *amiyimath* (eave-sheathing)
14. *Amiyimath* made of wood
15. Cribwork
16. Stools
17. Hand-made pottery
18. Riffian design on pottery
19. Wickerwork
20. Absence of horisontal loom
21. Buskins
22. Clogs
23. Stilts
24. Retention of median occipital lock
25. Shaving of face
26. Tattooing, type 2
27. Absence of kohl as regards groom
28. Total absence of kohl

Central Riffian Social Institutions

(Thirty-Three Traits)

1. Tabu against the Shameless Ones
2. Political office tabu
3. Two or three councillors in market
4. Council of the great
5. Village council
6. Freedom from shorfa
7. Sex restriction forty days after birth
8. Naming on seventh day
9. First haircut at one year of age
10. Circumcision early

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11. Itinerant preceptor performing circumcision
12. Local preceptor performing circumcision
13. Wedding feast seven days
14. Hospitality all days of wedding feast
15. One or two iuriven
16. Many iuriven
17. Wedding in September
18. *Zemmer*-playing at Wedding
19. *Sabbain n-rasli*
20. Cutting of reed
21. Stick headdress
22. Brother mounts behind bride
23. Difference in treatment of divorcee
24. Ring type of dancing
25. Funeral hospitality
26. Definite time for burial
27. Whole village attends funeral
28. Corpse carried on door
29. Bearers changed frequently
30. Grave measured with finger-span
31. Flat stones, differentiated, as markers
32. Stones placed where corpse set down on way
33. No one in house at time of death may leave for seven days after burial

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Under material culture, I have purposely omitted agriculture and the care of domestic animals because these complexes seem so dependent upon environment for their distribution that to include them would unduly weight the classification. Other traits included admittedly depend upon environment, but to a lesser degree and in a less direct way. House types, for example, which I have called central Riffian are today found in more complete form in the Senhaja Sghir than in the Rif. The environment which permits the construction of these forms includes an abundance of coniferous timber which formerly grew in the Rif but which today is found in large quantity only in the Senhaja Sghir.

Deforestation has prevented the perpetuation of the more difficult features of this house-type complex in the Rif, but the essentials still remain, although poorly executed. In other ways the Senhaja, living in an environment which formerly typified the central Rif, have been able to preserve the Riffian material culture as far as the continuation of an abundance of wood and of rainfall permits. In the bulk of their material culture, however, the central Riffians still maintain to the greater conservatism.

In the list of social institutions I have included a number of traits involving the connection of official religious personages with the crises in the life of the individual, crises with which only laymen are involved in other parts of our distributional area. This employment of religious personages is not unique, since it is found in Fez, and among other Arabs who preserve the old Moorish traditions in this time of ritualistic decadence. I personally attribute the presence of these traits in the central Rif to the influence of the old kingdom of Nekor, and to a lesser extent to other media of the diffusion of Arab cuture in the days before the invasion of the Beni Hillal. So integral and necessary a part of central Riffian culture have they become that to separate them from the other traits would defeat the purpose of this analysis. The social institutions of the central Rif must be considered a stable blend of old local factors and early Arab ingredients.

In order to present the distribution of the varying intensity of these criteria it is necessary to decide what sub-areas shall be treated as units. I have so treated each sub-area no smaller than a *canton* which has a different cultural pattern in either of the two classes of criteria than any of its contiguous neighbors. Identical sub-areas which are contiguous are treated as one, no matter how large the combination of them may be.

Each sub-area so determined has been given two scores, one in material culture and the other in social institutions. These scores represent the number of traits in each category which the sub-area possesses. Thus the possible range in the case of material culture is 0–28, and in social institutions 0–33. The actual ranges are in material culture 0–26, and in social institutions 2–33.

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SEVENTY SUB-AREAS AND THE CULTURAL SCORES OF EACH

	Material	Social
1. Kabdana	5	2
2. Mazuza and Ait Shisher	6	2
3. Beni Bu Ifrur and Beni Sidel	6	12
4. Beni Bu Yafer	5	2
5. Beni Said	5	22
6. Temsaman bordering Ulishk	7	24
7. Temsaman bordering Urriaghel	7	26
8. Northern Beni Ulishk	5	20
9. Southern Beni Ulishk and Taferst	4	9
10. Beni Bu Yahyi	0	6
11. Eastern Metalsa	1	6
12. Western Metalsa	1	9
13. El Azib of Meidhar, Beni Tuzin	6	13
14. Western Mountain Beni Tuzin	8	23
15. Rest of Beni Tuzin	7	23
16. Ajdir	12	27
17. Beni Hadifa	13	26
18. Southern Mountain Urriaghel	25	32
19. Rest of Beni Urriaghel	13	27
20. Shawia	6	11
21. Beni Mohammed	8	17
22. Khebaba	8	14
23. Beni Yunes	7	24
24. Ulad Alu ben Aissa	11	26
25. Ikaroen	9	22
26. Iherrasen	13	28
27. Mellal, Iherahliyen	7	12
28. Inhanahan	10	14
29. Bured	11	22
30. Temjunt	18	31
31. Iherruahen	22	33
32. Ikhuanen	21	33
33. Southern Beni Amart	26	31
34. Northern Beni Amart	26	30
35. Beni Mesduy facing Targuist	10	8
36. Beni Mesduy facing Zarket	10	6
37. Targuist	4	3
38. Bokoya	5	8
39. Beni Ittaft and Beni Bu Frah	3	6
40. Mestasa and Mtiwa	3	2
41. Zarkat	12	20
42. Beni Gmil	7	19
43. Beni Bu Nsar	12	21
44. Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus	11	20
45. Hamid	9	20
46. Beni Beshir	10	21
47. Beni Bu Shibet	11	19
48. Taghsuth	10	21
49. Ktama	11	21
50. Zrarka	5	21
51. Muziet	5	18
52. Ain Mediuna	6	23
53. Bu Adl	6	24
54. Rgheiwa	5	17
55. Beni Ulid	5	20
56. Khunduktamda	5	22
57. Beni Korsa	6	23
58. Taunat and Bab Wendar	5	21
59. Fenasa	5	23
60. Beni Wenjin	5	24
61. Amaboh	5	20
62. Ulad Asam	3	22
63. Beni Krama	5	23
64. Marniua	6	23
65. Branes	5	17
66. Ulad Brahim	5	21
67. Burda	5	23
68. Aghbalu	5	18
69. Western Arabophone Senhaja	6	18
70. Ghomara	4	5

The maps which accompany this discussion will help to visualize the distributions. Both are clearly centered in the tribes of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the northern part of Gsennaya. The material culture trails out to the east along the mountain divide, through Zarket to Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, and Ktama, as well as Beni Bu Shibet. In the places where invasions have taken place, except in the Senhaja, and in the Maritime tribes (for whose members contact with the outside world has been relatively easy), the paucity of the central Riffian material culture is noticeable. It does not necessarily follow that the basic traits of central Riffian material culture ever extended to the margins of what is today the Rif, but that many of them once extended somewhat beyond their present boundaries is probable. Perhaps if one were to work out the distribution of material culture among all Berber groups similar states of affairs might elsewhere be found. Without such check material worked out in a comparable manner it is impossible to determine accurately whether or not the material complex surviving in the central Rif is a local phenomenon or one of several such peaks of older culture thrust through the surface of a more modern accumulation.

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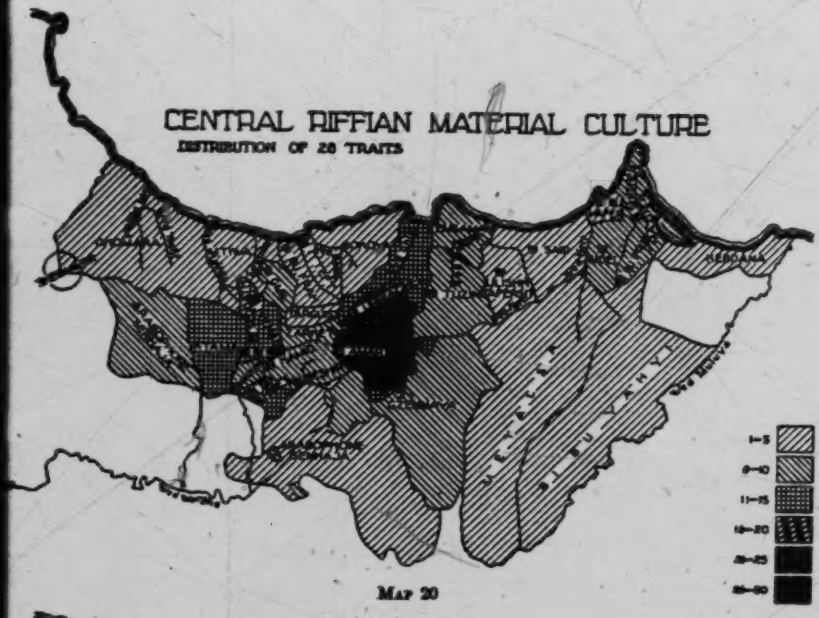
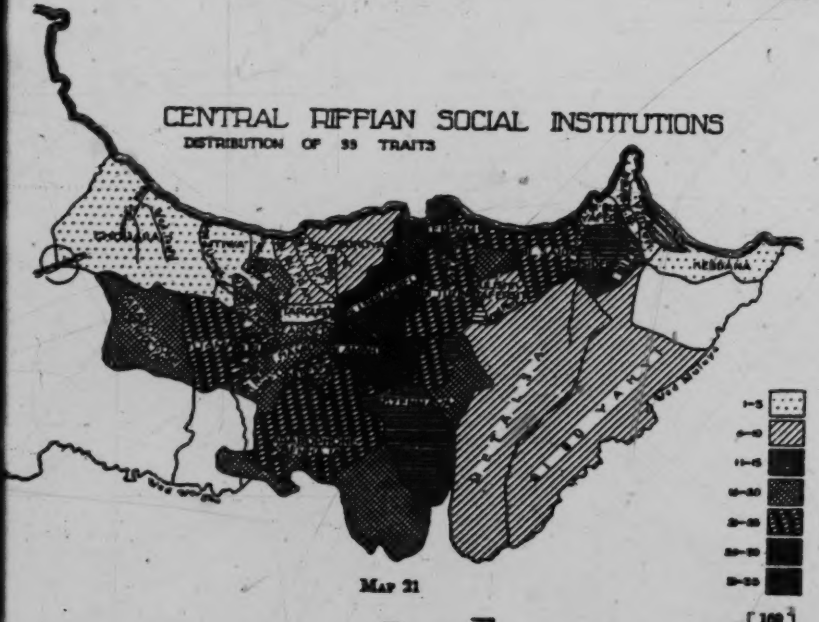


MAP 20



MAP 21

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The social features appear more widespread than the material, which is but natural, since they are not so subject to the limitations of environment. They extend along the coast to the east far beyond the eastward range of the bulk of the material factors, and southward into the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, which is separated from a parallel intensity in the tribes of Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, and Ktama by a surprising weakness in the Senhajan tribes which are of greater strength in material culture. This would indicate that the Senhaja, in the strongest points of their invasion, did not take over Riffian social traits as enthusiastically as they did the coincident

MAP 22

material culture, and that the outlying Senhajan tribes, out of the main path of the invasion, retain or have adopted Riffian social traits in greater intensity. The paths of invasion from the southeast and of diffusion from the northwest are more clearly shown in the map of social institutions than in that of material culture.

In order to compare the two types of culture more clearly, let us resort to a slight exercise of statistics, finding the mean number of traits of each kind possessed by the seventy sub-areas, and the mathematical expression of their coincidence.

Material Culture, 28 traits.
Mean $= 8.22 \pm .45$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 29.36$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .32$
Social Institutions, 33 traits.
Mean $= 18.40 \pm .66$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 55.76$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .22$

Correlation between social and material scores in the sub-areas, $+.61 \pm .03$

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Multiplying the mean by 100 and dividing the result by the total number of traits counted in each case gives a pair of comparable figures which show the much greater relative extent of the sociological compilation. The correlation between the numbers of social and material traits found in each sub-area expresses the degree of relationship between the two divisions of the complex. The relationship is significant far beyond question, but by no means approaches identity.

The third map of the series, on which are stippled only those sub-areas possessing more traits of each class than does the mean of that class, expresses this relationship clearly.

The cultural traits which are not central Riffian and which present unusual features marking them as different from the ordinary Moroccan pattern are found more strongly rooted in the southeast and the west than elsewhere. The eastern elements may be divided into those reputed to be of Zenatan origin and those to which only the title Nomadic may be safely applied, since they are adapted to a nomadic life and some of them are used by Bedawin, Braber, and other unassociated nomadic groups.

The following lists indicate the criteria which, without division into material and social traits, I have chosen to identify with the combination of Zenatan and generalised Nomadic culture. To separate them into Zenatan and Nomadic would perhaps render finer results, at the same time exposing the general thesis to a greater possibility of error. Hence I have chosen to keep them combined in one relatively convenient and safe, if generalized, category.

Nomadic and Zenatan Traits

1. The sloughi (reputed to be of Zenatan introduction)
2. Tents
3. *Afarai*
4. Brush *amsiyimath*
5. Cheese
6. Skin and iron containers only
7. Stake-loom for manufacture of goat-hair and *halfa* cloth
8. Cross-strap sandals
9. *Silham*
10. Men's *haik*
11. Zenatan type of tattooing
12. Tattooing with cross designs
13. Same type of tattooing on men
14. Scalplock hanging from left side of occiput (Zenatan only)
15. Groom sleeps in bride's father's tent during all but the last night of the wedding week
16. Mixed singing with flute-playing at wedding
17. Burial without stones
18. Burial without stones with the employment of a mule

By including the sloughi I have broken the rule established with Riffian traits of excluding domestic animals from the count. I have done this because the sloughi is not dependent upon environment, and because it bears so definite a tradition of Zenatan origin. Since there are two different tattooing types included in this combined roster, one Zenatan and the other perhaps related to the Braber, the complex might be split into two if we could determine which was responsible for other features. Possession of the *haik*, tents, and *afarai* may be accredited to both; either each has brought them in, or one may have used them there for a long time and the other brought them in as well.

On the following page is a list of scores for sub-areas.

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SCORE OF COMBINED NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

Beni Bu Yahyi	17	Northern Ulishk	5
Eastern Metalsa	16	El Azib of Meidhar	5
Western Metalsa	14	Rest of Tuxin	4
Kebdana	6	Shawia	6
Beni Bu Yafer	6	Khebaba	2
Rest of Galiya	5	Bi Mohammed	1
Said	5	Branes	2
Temsaman	2	Marnissa	
Southern Ulishk and Tafersit	6		

MAP 23

The distribution of these scores is heavily centered among the nomads, and very lightly diffused among the sedentary tribes in contact with them. It is curious that Marnissa and Branes, located in the Senhaja, possess some of these traits. In the case of Marnissa, it is perhaps a reflection of the easterly position which el Bekri gave it.[1]

In the west there are again two groups of alien factors, which might well be lumped into one to avoid mistake in identifications. The Senhajan cultural elements which do not coincide with central Riffian usage are:

1. Tattooing, Senhajan type
2. Scalplock hanging from right side of occiput
3. Thatched *amiyrmoth*
4. Thatched roofs
5. Cork used as roofing and as bedding
6. Absence of pottery

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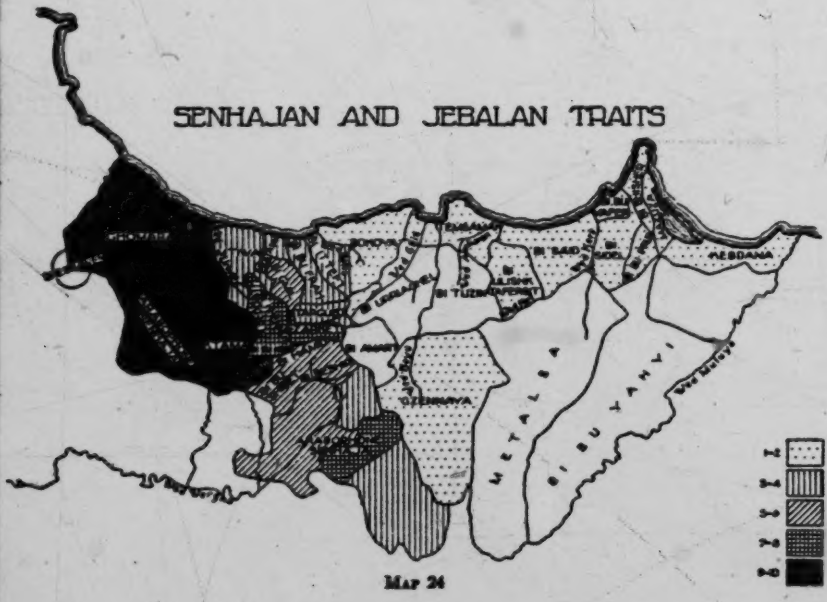
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Those which may be Senhajan, but may rather be Ghomaran, or, on account of their wider diffusion, Jebalan, are:

1. Rectangular brush house
2. Use of hemp as a drug
3. Toe-strap sandals
4. Leggings for women
5. Tie-dyeing
6. Use of rheta and drum at weddings
7. Boy-markets



Map 24

Score of Combined Senhajan and Jebalan Culture

Ghomara	10	Rest of Eastern Arabophone Senhaja	5
Taghauth	9	Branes, Marnissa	4
Ktama	9	Targuist	4
Western Arabophone Senhaja	9	Beni Mesdey	3
Beni Bu Nsar, Khemmas, Seddath	8	Maritimes	3
Zarkat	7	Bokoya	2
Khandouktamda, Beni Krama	7	All Gassasya excepting Shawia and Iberrushen	2
Beni Gmil	6	Shawia and Iberrushen	1
Beni Hamid, Bashir, Bu Shibet	6	Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tefersit	1
Ain Mediuna, Zrarira, Beni Koras, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wender, Musiet	6		

This combination of traits extends much farther to the east than the eastern culture did to the west, since it is not as dependent on a specialised environment for the diffusion

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and maintenance of many of its traits as is the latter. The traits which spread farthest are Senhajan rather than Jebalan.

If we were to give scores on Senhajan features alone, Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar would take the lead, which in the merger belongs to the Ghomara. As is the case with the eastern culture, however, it will be safer to refrain from any separation.

The areas in which distinctive cultures have been partly replaced by traits common throughout Morocco do not deserve special treatment, since they are those which have figured in the background in the discussion of all three combinations of complexes. Such are notably the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, southern Gzennaya, and the eastern tribes of the Rif.

It is curious that language has so little correlation with culture in Northern Morocco. In Galiya and Kebdana, where Riffian culture is very diffuse, Berber is spoken with no signs of an impending transition to Arabic. If any linguistic influence is becoming serious in the east, it is that of Spanish. In the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, where Riffian culture is still quite strong, Berber has almost entirely died out. On the other hand, the adoption of Arabic has followed and is following the adoption of Arab cultural traits among the Maritime tribes and in Targuist.

Summary. A compilation of the traits of material and social culture which are characteristically Riffian shows that these traits are definitely concentrated in what may be called the Central Riffian Nuclear Culture Area, comprising northern Gzennaya, southern Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Amart. This area may be regarded as the stronghold of archaic culture in Northern Morocco.

The Riffian type of material culture extends westward through the Senhaja Sghir, being retained in this region by the survival of an abundant coniferous vegitation; the social pattern, on the other hand, stretches eastward through the true Rif, in which changes of environment have altered certain factors of material culture, while old social factors have been retained in greater intensity.

Cultural elements of Zenatan and Nomadic origins are concentrated in Beni Bu Yahyi, and become diffuse the furtber one goes into the Rif from that tribe. In the Central Riffian Culture Area these traits are entirely absent.

Cultural elements of Senhajan, Ghomaran, or Jebalan origin are concentrated in the Ghomara and in Ktama and Taghzuth. The rest of the Senhajan tribes show them in reduced degree, and some of the Riffian tribes have adopted a few of them. The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja shows itself more Riffian than Senhajan in culture.

There is but slight correlation between the retention of Berber speech and the retention of older cultural patterns: in the east the language is maintained undiminished despite profound cultural changes; in the west and southwest the opposite is the case.

This analysis indicates a certain degree of cultural stratification in the general area comprising the Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara. The older complex, surviving in greatest strength in the central Rif, may represent a culture which was once widespread over the Berber world; or it may be uniquely Riffian. Further compilations in other parts of North Africa are needed before this question can be answered.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XXV

CULTURE, TRADITION, AND RACE. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING BERBER ORIGINS

CULTURE AND RACE

174 The distribution of cultural traits in northern Morocco shows us that the earliest pattern survives in the mountainous nucleus of the Rif, with Beni Amart as the chief center, and Beni Urriaghel and the northwestern fringe of Gzennaya included within the concentrated area. Old social institutions, having no direct association with changes in environment, stretch out eastward across Beni Said to form a secondary and less intense nucleus in Galiya. Material culture of archaic pattern has the same center as the social institutions, but being partly dependent upon an abundance of coniferous timber it has abandoned the east, which is deforested, and extends westward in survival across the still heavily forested mountains of the Senhaja Sghir.

The northern arm of the Sahara which culminates in the Garet has served as the diffusion route for cultural influences of nomadic inspiration, and has tended to bisect the original pattern of social distribution. In the west, the valley of the Wergha has served as a much-used highroad over which alien institutions have been carried; and others have crept across the Jebala through the western tribes, which speak Arabic, and through the Ghomara. In the northwestern Rif commercial navigation and the establishment of a religious center have tended to minimise Riffian culture in the tribes of Mtiwa, Mestasa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, and Targuist.

Such in brief is the cultural picture. On the whole, racial differentiation within the fairly homogenous group which characterizes this area tends to follow the same geographical tendencies as culture. Owing to the incomparability of the types of data, and the differences in designation of sub-areas, statistical comparison is impossible; nevertheless such is the general agreement that a cursory comparison can be made.

The area in which the older social pattern is retained is precisely that in which the blond, North European racial type survives in greatest purity. Although in general it is hazardous to associate race with culture, in the present area each owes its survival to its geographical inaccessibility. One cannot say that the Nordic type originated this culture, or brought it with it; probably of the two the racial type is far the older; all that one can say is that of recognizable racial and cultural types these two are the oldest and survive in the same place for the same reason.

The region to the south and east of this center of refuge is occupied by a taller, heavier boned, and darker haired type, obviously secondary chronologically to the blonder type. It is improbable that that type was wholly or even largely responsible for the diminution of Riffian cultural elements in the east, since it is found in the Gzennaya associated with a high degree of Central Riffian culture, both social and material. Most of the Gzennaya measured came from that northwestern part of the tribe. Another element which seems so old that its effects upon Central Riffian culture are likewise imperceptible is a diffuse Negroid or

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Mediterranean, which avoids the very center of the old culture area, although being located in other parts of it. This type seems to have had no perceptible effect upon the strongly preserved forest culture of the Senhaja, where the negroid element is most in evidence. 174

One can trace the Saharan or Hamitic racial type in the regions in which intrusive cultural elements seem concentrated, and this type is responsible in part at least for the diffusion of nomadic cultural traits into the eastern Rif. Either it or a Negroid type, or both, brought the Senhajan peculiarities into Taghsuth, Ktama, and the surrounding region. The Ghomaran elements may have been brought by either the mesocephalous broad jawed type, by this latter, or by both.

Thus we can make but two definite associations between culture and race in northern Morocco: that of the earliest racial type with the oldest surviving cultural pattern, and that of the most recent racial type with the most recent cultural diffusions, excluding of course the European. On the whole, racial analysis shows earlier conditions and movements more clearly than does cultural analysis, since naturally the heredity of racial characteristics is more exact in its operation and more conservative than that which must be taught and learned. The cultural analysis is nevertheless of invaluable service in demarcating refuge areas and diffusion routes, thus helping to interpret the fuller evidence of race.

TRADITION AND RACE

Tradition attributes autochthonous ancestry to the people living in the area typified by the greatest concentration of the blond North European type, thus supporting the contribution of cultural evidence. In the east, ancestry is often attributed to Zenatan and Arab sources. Here, however, the eponymous forebears of the various family groups represent an infusion of the Saharan type not yet strong enough to have changed the general characteristics of the group. The Eastern type must have come in so long ago that it cannot be explained away by tradition. In the Senhaja, tradition attributes old Christian ancestry to the tribes least unlike the Riffians, and to Taghsuth and Ktama, ancestors from Segguia el Hamra, who came into a region formerly inhabited by people "like Shluh," in the case of Taghsuth, and by no one, in the case of Ktama. After having visited Ktama one finds it remarkable that human beings inhabit it even today. These Shluh-like people probably represent an older negroid population whom the Senhajan ancestors, probably of the general Saharan type, assimilated. In Ghomara the same nebulous "Shluh" were found and traditionally dislodged. The Ghomaran ancestors came from Segguia el Hamra earlier than did the Senhajan ancestors, and hence the similarity of the Ghomaran lighter type to the "Guanche" element in the Canary Islands may represent a real connection. The similarity of the name Ghomara to Gomera, the island on which this type was especially strong, may possibly indicate this relationship, although such tenuous philological connections should not be stressed. A Saharan element either accompanied or followed the mesocephalous Ghomaran type into the Ghomara.

On the whole, these traditions indicate rather well the general succession of racial positions and movements in northern Morocco, in so far as we have been able to reconstruct them. If the racial elements had been more different from each other skeletally our task would have been easier. As it is, cumulative tendencies within a slightly varied group have of necessity served as criteria.

Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif, MX3

174 The general trend which these tendencies have revealed bears a connection not only with the local traditions, but also with the traditions concerning the early origins of the whole Berber group.

According to Ibn Khaldun all Berbers are descended from two individuals each named Berr, who were not related, and both of whom the Arab historian naturally enough descends from Semitic characters.[1] These two Berrs are supposed to have come into North Africa, and their descendants to have have subdivided into many of the present Berber groups. Notable among these are the Senhaja, Ghomara, Masmuda, Huara, and Zenata. Some writers postulate an invasion of Africa shortly before the Christian era by one Ifrikos, who came from Arabia, bringing with him the Senhaja and Ketama families.[2]

It is not profitable to dwell too long upon these theories, which are not proper Berber traditions but garbled Arab versions of them. The significant points about them are two: that the Senhaja, Ghomara, and Zenata are pictured as invaders and are classed as desert nomads; and that there is no traditional group held responsible for the parentage of the families of the central Rif. According to Marmol (who follows Ibn er-Rakik) there were two kinds of Berbers. "African Berbers," and "Shluh."[3] The African Berbers were nomadic and considered themselves aristocrats. The Shluh were the lowly inhabitants of the mountains, the farmers and house-dwellers. From time to time, according to Marmol, certain branches of the illustrious families would be defeated by their enemies and forced to take to the hills, where they would be assimilated by the mountaineers. In this way they would give their names to the groups adopting them, as their local progeny increased. They would also perhaps cause slight changes culturally and racially.

The Senhaja, using the name in its entire designation and not as we have been employing it locally, is a widespread group of peoples, including the Tuareg, the Braber, and our own Northern Senhaja, who form a tiny part of the whole and an erratic excrescence of the main stock. Most of the Senhaja are nomadic, and they cover a large part of the Sahara. Even the Braber, who live in the Middle Atlas, retain nomadic habits despite their present environment, living in houses only in the winter. It is said that the Braber tribes have been pushing each other northward over the Middle Atlas and up the Muluya; in the memory of living men tribal locations have shifted in this direction. It would be logical to consider the Northern Senhaja the pre-Islamic peak of this movement, later bisected by the Arab invasions. On the other hand, their tradition connecting them with Rio d'Oro would imply an older movement.

The Ghomara are located, according to early writers, along the Atlantic coast, in regions which they do not now inhabit. This traditional or historic location would serve to connect them with the coastal region opposite the Canary Islands. The present day Ghomara are again only a dislocated section of a widespread family. According to Marmol,[4] the only true ones of the Ghomara are the Beni Grir, the others being really what he calls "Shluh," in other words, indigenous agriculturalists.

The main body of the Zenata lies outside of Morocco to the south and east, but a definite sequence of them extends up the Muluya watercourse to the main nucleus.

[1] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères* (tr. Mac Guckin de Slane), vol. I, p. 167 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 185.
[3] Marmol, *Description d'Africa*, Book III, chap. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, Book III, chap. 67.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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These traditions, muddled as they are, and especially Marmol's interpretation of them, do, I believe, indicate something of value. They suggest the conclusions which we have so tediously extracted from the present material, that the Berbers are divided racially as well as culturally into two sections: the sedentary, agricultural, historically recessive type, European in racial affiliations; and the dominant nomadic group which comes from the south and east, and is Saharan or Hamitic in racial origin. Considering the linguistic evidence from the Canary Islands,[1] and the rôle the desert type has played in cultural diffusion, one is inclined to ascribe to this group the Hamitic element in Berber languages. One may also suppose an earlier linguistic as well as cultural pattern to have existed along the northwestern Mediterranean littoral, one more truly allied in pre-Indo-European times to the countries across the sea than is the case today. Racially the connections extend farther afield to the north of Europe, but whether the connecting thread ran across the Straits of Gibraltar or around the Mediterranean cannot be answered. If the pre-Berber or at least pre-Saharan cultural affiliations of the northern littoral were Bronze Age or Neolithic, its racial affiliations must go back even farther. In the light of the present evidence I do not see how it would be possible more recently to derive from Europe the North African blonds, scattered remnants as they are, perched in mountain refuges and stony islands, in the latter of which they were living in the Neolithic when discovered.

Summary: Of the pre-Hamitic or pre-Saharan inhabitants of northern Africa there were probably several racial types, a blond North European; a round headed type which Bertholon and Chantre [2] found in oases, along the Tunisian coast, and in the island of Jerba, and which probably produced in mixture the disharmonic "Guanche" type,[3] our own "Eastern" type, and the mesocephalous Ghomara; and a classical Mediterranean type. Personally I believe that the importance of the third has been greatly exaggerated. It may exist and flourish in other parts of North Africa, but in the part intimately covered by the present investigation it is of nebulous character if it is present at all.

It is impossible to say which of these types is the oldest. Some appear older in some regions, others in other regions. In the Rif the blond type seems to have stratigraphic priority, and its presence in Kabylia, the Aures, and the Canary Islands surely does not imply that it was recent in any of those regions.

The chief difference between the conclusions which automatically derive themselves from this study and those of Hooton's careful analysis of the Canary Island problem, is that in the Rif the Nordic type is older than the sub-brachycephalic mixed blonds, whereas in the Canaries the element bearing the round headed tendencies is as old as if not older than the blond.[4] Our Egyptian evidence also indicates that the blond strain was western. Probably the African Nordic type had its early focus in the north of Morocco, and the element which produced the round headed and disharmonic Berber types, which brought the broad jaw into Africa, followed the Atlas from northeast to southwest, from Tunis to the Canary Islands, working northward from this diagonal route in various waves, one of which brought the Ghomara.

Hooton finds a Negroid Mediterranean strain oldest in the Canaries.[5] These islands must have been slower to change both racially and culturally than our corner of the con-

[1] Hooton, *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, pp. 16–19.
[2] *La Berberie Orientale*, pp. 641, 645, and maps.
[3] Hooton, *Canary Islands*, p. 218 seq. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 299. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

174 tinent. Such a type, scattered in the Rif, is unquestionably old there, but it cannot truthfully be called older than the Nordic, while the technique of this investigation indicates it to be younger.

The history of North Africa has been a succession of cultural and racial whitewashings from the south and east. A people Hamitic or Saharan, call them what you will, swept over it at some early period and brought Berber speech, desert culture, and a refined brunet racial type. Arabs have swept over it, bringing in Islam and the concurrent pattern of culture. Saharan peoples have continued their northward drive well into modern times; the Zenata are a relatively late branch of them. Negroes have come or been brought in, broadening the noses, darkening the skins, forging iron, and brutalizing the lower religious sects of the people. Finally, the French and Spanish have entered, bringing modern civilization which will inevitably stir and ferment the racial and cultural orders, causing changes; destruction, growth, the breakdown of regional isolation, and so great an eventual homogeneity that the curious facts recorded in this volume will become legends, and finally linger in the attic of distorted human memories.

Searching beneath the Berber and Arab blankets, beneath the Negroid seepings and the European scaldings, it is still possible to discern the relics of a long bygone age, a time when northern Morocco was nearer to Europe culturally, and a still dimmer time when the races of North Africa and of Europe were the same. The old elements, a Nordic, an early pre-Alpine brachycephal, and a diffuse Negroid which evolved into the Mediterranean, disharmonic mixtures of several of these; the roster of old North African races reminds one of the Europe of the late Palaeolithic and early Neolithic, and especially of the periods in between. Had this welter of early types been allowed to work out its destiny undisturbed, our work would have been easier; as it is, early North African skeletal material is needed before our problem may be solved.

By chance this corner of North Africa in which we have chosen first to work is the asylum of the first of these types, an African Nordic. In determining that this race is at the bottom of the Riffian physical composition we wish to avoid the critical fire which is poured in these days on all so brave or foolhardy as to use the word "Nordic"; let it be understood that the word here means a race and not a frame of mind; head, hair, eyes, and nose, and not an Olympian psychology. That the Riffians are brave and honorable men, and most pleasant companions, is neither here nor there.

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no
16 definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

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most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

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/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

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648
•174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.